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TO THE REFORMERS.

On the prospect which now presents itself with regard to the South American States.

Kensington, November 12th, 1823.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

It often happens that, after men appear to have lost all chance of accomplishing an object, the chance forces itself upon them. Who would have thought, only a very few months ago, that we should, in the month of November, 1823, have found the base and bloody newspaper, called the *COURIER*; that lying, that fraudulent, that stanchest of all the vehicles of corruption; who would have thought that we should have found in that newspaper, a series of articles manifestly intended to rouse us up to spend our money in carrying on a war for the purpose of establishing in practice, and that, too, upon the most ex-

tended scale, the doctrine of the "SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE?" Such, however, as I shall presently show you, is the fact; and, I trust, that we shall now call to mind all the deeds of the infamous sons and daughters of corruption, perpetrated against us in the years 1817 and 1819; all the insults, all the robberies, all the murders which they committed upon us, only because we claim for ourselves a very small portion of those political rights for the establishing of which in South America, this fraudulent, base and bloody newspaper is now endeavouring to work us up to spend our money in war.

You will bear in mind that, in 1817, a million and a half of Englishmen petitioned the people called the House of Commons, to give them, or, rather to restore to them, the right of choosing those who were called the representatives of the people. The answers to this petition were Acts of Parliament making new treasons, divers new causes for putting men

to death; and, more especially, a law to authorize the Ministers to put into goal whomsoever they pleased; into which gaol they released; into solitary dungeons if they pleased; to forbid the prisoners the use of pen, ink and paper; and to keep them in those gaols and those dungeons as long as they pleased. In 1819 a numerous body of Englishmen met at Manchester for the purpose of taking into consideration the most effectual lawful means of bringing about such a reform in the body called the House of Commons as would give the people at large the power of choosing those who were called the people's representatives. Being assembled for this purpose; and for this purpose explicitly declared, they were attacked by horse soldiers, chopped, hacked, trampled upon; many of them were killed; hundreds of them were wounded; and those who attacked them, and who ordered the attack upon them were *thanked* for what they had done, by a letter conveyed to them by Sidmouth, the then Secretary of State. The persons who had suffered, or the relations of those who had suffered, endeavoured in vain to obtain redress for this. And, some of the persons who had taken a lead in this meeting to petition, or rather, to take measures to obtain the exercise of the right of choosing those who were called their representatives; some of these persons were punished with almost unparalleled severity for, it would almost appear, having escaped with life from the sabres of the soldiers. But, need we go further than to look at Joseph Swann at this moment? The Magistrates of Cheshire; the Justices of the Peace from their Quarter Sessions, in the spring of the year 1820, committed him to Chester gaol for **FOUR YEARS AND A HALF**, in which gaol he now is. And what was his crime? He had committed three crimes: he had sold *two pamphlets*. For this they gave him two years and a half of imprisonment; and the other two years they gave him for *having been present at a meeting held to petition for Reform*. He did not speak at that meeting; and it was not alleged that he had spoken at that meeting; and yet, two years were on this account added to the other two years and a half; and he was dragged from his poor wife and four small children, and consigned to all the horrors of a gaol for four long years and a half, nearly one whole year of which has yet to expire. Talk of the Spanish Inquisition!

Talk of meetings held by the patriotic members for Westminster and the Borough of Southwark, the county of Middlesex and the great city of Eastern wisdom, which has Lord Waithman for a sovereign and Thomas Curzon Hansard for a lawgiver; talk of meetings of these patriotic persons, and talk of giving them money to buy swords and guns to prevent the re-establishment of the Spanish Inquisition! Talk of giving money for this purpose, while Joseph Swann is absolutely wasting away in Chester gaol, while his wife and four small children are little better than starving, and while there is a year of his imprisonment yet to expire! What base hypocrisy, my friends; what base hypocrisy to affect to pity the Spaniards, or even the slaves in Jamaica, while we have Joseph Swann and his family before our eyes! Several times have I given the challenge; again I repeat the challenge, to produce proof, that the Spanish Inquisition has, during the last *quarter of a century*, inflicted any sentence equal to that inflicted upon Joseph Swann; and this, recollect, was inflicted by the Justices of the Peace at their Quarter Sessions. I challenge all the hawlers about the tyranny of Ferdinand and the

Bourbons; I challenge them to produce an instance of a sentence a tenth part so severe as this, inflicted on a man for what has never been called, and for what was now called, nothing but a misdemeanor. Do I, then, justify the tyranny of Ferdinand and of the Bourbons? Oh, no! But I hold it to be base; I hold it to be infamous; I hold it to be a thing worthy of the detestation of mankind to affect to be anxious for the putting down of that tyranny, while I see pass almost wholly unnoticed, pass as a thing not at all improper, the terrible punishment inflicted upon Joseph Swann. I do not know what is the real situation of the people of Spain. I know that the people of France, that the labouring classes in France are well off indeed, compared to the same classes here; but, suppose I knew them to be miserable in both these countries; what has that to do with the matter? I am sorry for it; but I can do nothing for the people of Spain or of France. I am in no respect answerable for their ill treatment. I am not, indeed, answerable for the ill treatment of Joseph Swann; but if, while I see him suffering and do nothing to relieve him, I give my money to deliver, as I call it, the French or Spaniards

from slavery, I certainly am either hypocrite or fool.

But, we are now to see how this punishment of Joseph Swann applies to the case before us. His crime was selling pamphlets and being present at a meeting ; the object of which pamphlets and which meeting was, to cause a reform to take place in that body of men which are called the representatives of the people ; and that reform was intended to be such as would give to the people a voice in the choosing of their representatives. Amongst all the revilers of Joseph Swann and of men like Joseph Swann, the vile wretches who own this newspaper called the Courier were the foremost. To endeavour to get such reform they represented as seditious, rebellious, treasonable. And yet, these same wretches are now laying down the doctrine, that it is right for England to go to war ; that it is right for her to contract new debts, to lay on new taxes, to draw sweat and blood from the people of this country, in order to uphold the right, in the people of South America ; not merely of choosing their representatives in the legislative assembly ; not merely that ; but the right of **TURNING OFF THEIR KING** ; and of choosing for

themselves a new form of government.

Before I proceed any farther, I will here insert two of the articles, to which I have alluded above. You will observe that I take them from our old inveterate and bloody-minded enemy the Courier. The wretches who conduct which have been guilty of every atrocity against the people that can be imagined. Whenever there has been a meeting to petition for the redress of any grievance, these wretches have called upon the Government to shed the blood of the people, They openly justified the bloodshed of the sixteenth of August ; they have constantly justified every act of severity that has been committed ; they applauded the terrible Six Acts ; and, in short, there has been no one act of cruelty or of severity ; no one deed hostile to our liberties ; no act by which life has been taken from some of us, which these horrible miscreants have not applauded ; and all this, observe, for no other reason, than because the objects of their sanguinary assaults prayed to be permitted to exercise the right of giving a voice for those who were called their representatives.

Let me further observe, in the way of preface, that, in 1817, the

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people of this country were anxious to assist the South Americans in obtaining their independence; that many of the officers and soldiers who had served in the late wars were anxious to enlist into the service of Mexico, Columbia and Peru and Buenos Ayres, which had then declared themselves independent. Pray bear in mind that at this time our Government, so far from being ready to acknowledge the independence of the South American States, passed what was called a **FOREIGN ENLISTMENT BILL**; that is to say, a law to prevent the people of this country, at their own private expense, and at the hazard of their own lives, to assist the people of South America against that very Ferdinand, which this Courier newspaper now holds up as such a contemptible tyrant. This Foreign Enlistment Bill was applauded to the skies by these vile wretches of the Courier newspaper; it was applauded as a piece of justice, of wisdom; as a thing necessary to uphold monarchical governments and all the principles of loyalty and religion: and yet, as you will now see, this very newspaper is endeavouring to prepare us for *going to war*, if necessary; to expend, if necessary, more hundreds of millions,

in order to establish in South America the doctrine of the inherent right of every people to cast off their sovereign, to cast off their rulers of every description, and to choose new rulers for themselves, whenever they please.

I shall now insert the articles to which I have alluded; and when I have inserted them, I shall have to offer to you some further remarks. There were two articles, which, however, I shall insert as one. I have numbered the paragraphs, from one to eleven, inclusive. The first article consisted of the first six paragraphs: the last of the last five paragraphs. The first was published on Friday, the 7th of November: the last on Monday, the 10th of November. I beg you to read the whole of the eleven paragraphs attentively through. I insert them word for word, and character for character, as I find them. You will perceive that the matter has been touched upon by the French papers, and you will be particular in bearing in mind, that the wretches who edit the **COURIER** would never have dared to put these paragraphs into their paper unless they had had **AUTHORITY** for so doing. You will bear in mind all these things; and then, when you have read the following articles, you will want

391] ~~have from me in the way of~~ observation. Yet, something I must say; for, you will observe, one of two things is now going to take place; that is to say, a full surrender of the States of South America to France and Spain; that is, in other words, a complete abandonment of those States, and suffering them to be taken and be recolonised by France and Spain, or, an explicit, a decided, a practical and most signal acknowledgment, on the part of our King, and of the House of Commons called the representatives of the people; this grand acknowledgment from all these parties of the great principle of the right of sovereignty; the great principle of the *Sovereignty of the People*. *Seven hundred millions do we owe*, because it pleased our Government and the Parliament to fight to extinguish this very principle. And are they now going to call upon us to spend our money and shed our blood for the purpose of establishing this principle? However, I am anticipating here: let us, before we proceed further, hear the prostituted slave of corruption the

COURIER.

1. The affairs of Europe may be almost said to be, at present, subordinate in importance to those of the Colonies—and the old world to be an object of less interest than

the new. THIS is the second time, within half a century, that America has taken so commanding a station. North America, towards the latter end of the last century—South America, at the commencement of this. The effect will be, or rather has been, the same in both cases. They have each thrown off their dependence upon the Parent States. To some it may appear to be the fulfilment of the prophetic speech of MONTEZUMA, "That the hour of retribution would come;" whilst others will see in it only the natural effect of causes—the necessary result of the development of the elements of which the colonies were composed—the growth of the seeds which were sown in them. The child, become a man, separates from his parents, establishes an independent power, and can neither be coerced nor controlled. The ties that bind him to them are those of amity and affection—there is reciprocation of kindnesses and good offices; but the link of obedience and subordination is broken for ever. This is the situation of South America. Spain cannot reduce her to subjection if she would, and a well understood policy would prevent her from attempting it if she could.

2. The question, then, of the independence of South America seems to be settled. It cannot be prevented—it has already been effected. But we read yesterday, in the French Papers, of some armaments fitting out at Cadiz, to carry succours to Lima. Succours for what? Subjugation? Ridiculous! If, however, we are, in this measure, to see the evidence of a hope to reduce the Colonies again to dependence upon the Mother Country, the necessity of more immediate decision on the part of this country becomes stronger. It should appear as if some attempt had been made to weaken our policy, or at least to render it subservient to the policy of other Powers.

The demi-official journal of the French Government talked, the other day, of some general deliberation upon the affairs of South America—some Congress of the European Powers—in which Spain should be the first consulted. But Spain begins at once, *under foreign influence*, to evince her disposition by an armament which can have only for its object the regaining her power over the American Colonies. She does not then choose to submit her cause to arbitration. Are we then to wait for the decision of any Congress?

3. Let us not be deceived.—None of the Powers of the Continent desire the independence of South America. They may pretend that they do not desire it, because it tends to the spread and encouragement of revolutionary principles. But the real cause is, that it must lead to the enlarging the sphere of commercial intercourse, and therefore may, and must, be most beneficial to Great Britain. The *Journal des Debats* said the other day—"And how can it be supposed that England would decide at once a question of this importance when the formal admission to the rank of powers of five or six new States, containing seventeen millions of inhabitants, will be an event which will considerably change the equilibrium of the political balance of nations?" The *Courier* may add—Will seventeen millions of men, remote from your reach, and having the means of defying and resisting all your efforts to subdue them, consent to submit their fate and fortunes to your control or decision?

4. Congress or not—this at least is evident, that Great Britain cannot send a Minister to any assembly in Europe that shall pretend to settle the fate of South America. We know there is a very short and satisfactory argument that might

be used upon the subject of interfering between a Mother Country and her Colonies. But the case of South America differs very widely from that of our American Colonies; the independence of the former is *de facto* accomplished—all efforts have been tried against it and failed.

Treason has done his worst: nor steel
nor poison,
Malice domestic, *foreign levy*, nothing
Can touch it further.

5. All Europe knows that we neither incited the Americans to throw off their submission, nor fanned the flame of independence—nor gave it encouragement, either direct or indirect. We did not promote it—we could not prevent it. What then should be our policy? Are we to wait till Spain and her Allies have proved the fallacy of all attempts to reduce the Colonies to their former obedience? Are we to wait till they have pointed out the path we ought to pursue; or, are we to act from ourselves alone?—No doubt, whatever policy we adopt will be censured—our motives calumniated—our objects misrepresented. A sufficient proof of this we have seen in the present contest between France and Spain: we have not given satisfaction to either party. All hesitating policy, all half-measures, are beneath the dignity of this great nation. A shifting, truckling, trimming policy may suit States of the second order, but is utterly unworthy such a country as Great Britain. No man can applaud more than we do the sending Consuls and Commissioners to the South American States: it is the first step—a step for which we see the Continental Powers were not prepared. They wished to make us subservient to the delays, the turns, and windings of Congress deliberations. We have not waited to take upon us their trammels. But they wish to have it supposed that we have not

in form recognised the independence of South America. But have we not in fact?

6. It is a manly policy which our Government has adopted. It is the first step; but it must be followed by other steps; and we trust it will be followed by the appointment of some higher diplomatic character—of some Envoy or Minister to the Colonies. This will put our intentions beyond all doubt. It is the only policy worthy of us.

7. It seems strange that any persons should view our sentiments upon the South American States as breathing either war or defiance. It is a policy upon which, we contend, other European Powers have no right to interfere with us—nor do we pretend to interfere with them. They may, or may not, acknowledge and treat with those States: that is their business. But they cannot justly complain of our exercising the same privilege. And here, in order to clear away *in limine* the ground of some objections that have been urged, we must desire the public to bear this in mind—that it is not the case of an incipient insurrection of the Colonies against the Parent State—that it is not a struggle in which the power of one side is balanced by the power of the other, and the issue doubtful—it is not a case in which a third party, stepping in, turns the scale, and decides the conflict in favour of the side to which it carries its weight. It bears no resemblance to the case of our American colonies, when France and Spain interfered: the conflict is decided—the issue is arrived—and Spain is not more divided by the seas from her ancient possessions, than she is by the difference of their respective institutions: nor has she more sovereignty over them than we had over France, though we continued to bear the empty title of her King. The question has been well put by

one of our cotemporaries—"As to independence, the question is at rest---the States *are* free—the acknowledgment by Spain, is not worth a straw to England—all colonies are *de jure* Sovereign States, the moment in which they achieve their independence, *de facto*. This, for the clearest of all reasons, because the foundation of their allegiance, is their enjoyment of protection from the Parent State. When the colonists cease to want protection, they are no longer bound to pay the price of it; and this is one of a class of cases in which power becomes the evidence of right."

8. This is what we wished to lay down *in limine*. The South American States are, to all intents and purposes, free and independent States, with which any other State may treat and negotiate, and form alliances, without any violation of treaty or good faith towards any other Power.

9. But it is said, Spain has not acknowledged their independence, and therefore 'you are guilty of an attack upon her sovereignty.' Indeed! Let us see the absurdity to which this position would lead. The South American States might have established, as they have, their independence—might have exercised all the acts of a sovereign and independent power—might have entered into commercial and political relations with other nations—Spain would not be able to take any step, to do any act, calculated to resume her former authority over the States, or to arrest for a moment the march and exercise of their independence—nay, might remain totally inactive and supine; yet, because she refused to acknowledge them as free States, we are to refuse all intercourse, all political relations with them whatever! Why, does not every one see the utter absurdity and childishness of such

reasoning, if reasoning it can be called?

10. But we are told of a Congress of European Powers to settle the fate of the American Colonies. We should like to see what sort of a preamble such a Congress would draw up to their deliberations.—“Whereas, a certain tract of country, some thousands of miles distant from Europe, containing about 470,000 square leagues, and a population of seventeen millions, has determined that it will be governed by its own institutions, and will no longer continue in dependence, (which they do not want, and which is injurious to their best interests) upon a nation containing twenty-five thousand square leagues, and ten millions of inhabitants; We, the Powers of Europe, are assembled in Congress to devise the best means of putting an end to so unsatisfactory a situation of affairs, and of concluding some arrangement that shall be more congenial to the policy, &c. &c.”!! Congress may deliberate and re-deliberate, pass protocol upon protocol, multiply conference upon conference, but what would the seventeen millions on the other side of the Atlantic say? Or what means would the Congress possess of enforcing their edicts? To frame resolutions which you have no means of executing, or, to use an old proverb, “*to show your teeth when you cannot bite*,” is, in private concerns, not a very wise proceeding; but, in public matters, in the intercourse between nations, not only idle but positively dangerous. We think the Continental Powers will pause before they hold any such Congress; but whether they do or not, we shall neither be a party to it, nor send a Minister to it. We shall leave the Continental Powers to act as *they* like, whilst we shall act as *we* think best for our own interests. The

American States *have* achieved their emancipation—achieved **it** by their own efforts—without foreign aid, foreign councils, or foreign encouragement. We, who, of all nations, could have rendered them the most powerful assistance, did not, through our Government, express even a wish in their favour. They fought the fight, they gained the victory without us. Their independence is established—the tide cannot be rolled back. The American States are free sovereign States with which any nation is at liberty to treat, without affording any just grounds of offence or complaint to any other Power.

11. We have sent Consuls and Commissioners—other Powers may, and probably will, do the same. We call this step a *de facto* acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of the American States—and we may expect further, that a higher diplomatic character will either be sent out, or that some one of the Commissioners has, or will have, the power of taking upon himself that character, as soon as the different Consuls have made their reports upon the situation and feelings of the States to which they have been respectively sent.

Supposing you now to have read, with suitable attention, these articles from this villanous newspaper, what is the first thing that presents itself for remark? Why, certainly, the impossibility that the crawling reptiles who own this paper and who conduct it should have inserted passages like these unless they had been well assured that the insertion of them would be pleasing to corruption. In short, that man must know

nothing of these publications who does not know, that these articles are not only not published without the previous approbation of persons that we need not name; but that they were not written, that no part of them were written by the wretches who own or who conduct the *Courier*. Every man knowing any thing at all about the London press, must know that the articles were written by others and sent for insertion to the wretches who own this paper, and who, if justice be not banished from the face of this earth, will, in due time, have their reward.

The next thing to remark on is, the strenuous endeavours manifest in these articles to prove that the States of South America **ARE** independent; that the question is *settled*; that the independence has already been effected; and that, to attempt to recolonise these countries is to make war upon free and independent States. Great pains is taken to establish this point, as may be seen by a reference to paragraphs 2, 7, 8 and 9. As to the fact, how stands it? In every one of the States, in that of Mexico, that of New Grenada and Venezuela, now called Columbia; that of Peru, that of Chili, that of Buenos Ayres; in

every one of them is there a *struggle now going on*; and, certainly, Spain has acknowledged the independence of neither of them. If the making of loans, indeed; if the borrowing of money of the Jews and Jobbers in London; if that were enough to make a state independent, some of them are independent: but, to talk of the thing having been decided in another way, is to give the lie to the well-known facts. Is it not notorious, that in Mexico there was a counter-revolution, as it was called, only about *fifteen months ago*. A man named ITURBRIDE had been proclaimed *Emperor* of Mexico. He talked of his royal family: in his proclamation he talked of his royal family in as bold and fine a strain as any of the Guelphs ever did. But, all of a sudden, his emperorship was toppled down, and deemed himself to be extremely in luck to escape with his head upon his shoulders. Is Mexico settled, then? Will even the impudent, base and bloody *Courier* pretend to say that Mexico is independent? It is only about fifteen months since ITURBRIDE was tumbled from his imperial throne. The pretty gentlemen at Whitehall have voted into their hands by the Lord Johns and the rest of

them every year about fifty thousand pounds for secret services. They cover the face of the land and of the seas with their ambassadors, commissioners, envoys and consuls. They have an enormously expensive envoy in the United States of America. They have an ambassador there or envoy or whatever they call him, who, together with his officers and slabs, cost us more, every year, than the President of the United States *and all his ministers of state* cost that country: our pretty gentlemen have all these means of getting at information. And yet, I would bet my head against Mr. Canning's inkstand, that they will not, even after the Parliament shall meet, be able to say *what sort of government that is which is existing in Mexico!*

Well, then, is the affair settled so completely? Is there *no question* about it? Ah, but the prostituted wretch who writes in the Courier; the prostituted knave who sends it these articles will say, "Ah! as to *Mexico*, indeed: "as to that particular province, "there may be some little doubt. "Things may not be completely "settled *there*, perhaps." And thus, my friends, it is to be fool as well as knave; for, what is this

same Mexico? What part of South America does it form? "Only a *little bit* of it," the Courier will say: "indeed, hardly "any of it; for the far greater part "of Mexico is, in fact, in North "America." Aye, beast, that is true enough. But you say there are *seventeen millions of people* in the whole belonging to these States that are in question; and then, my friends, we have little more to do than to remark, that it is perfectly notorious that eleven millions are contained in Mexico alone! So that, it appears completely undeniable that of the *people* of these Spanish colonies, two-third parts, or very nearly two-third parts, at any rate, are in a state of actual revolt; in a state so far from being settled, that nothing is settled belonging to the country; and that no man can say, at this moment, that there is in that colony any thing in existence worthy of the name of Government.

Indeed, our pretty gentlemen themselves appear, from their own acts, to be convinced that there is nothing worthy of the name of government in any one of the colonies. It is entirely their fault that there is not. Had it not been for them, there would have been settled, solid, and good governments

in these colonies long ago. Had not they seconded the underhand works of the United States of North America; had not they passed their Foreign Enlistment Bill, and had not they done every thing in their power to annoy and distract the South American Colonies: had they not done this, those colonies would have been really independent long ago. But, no matter; that they *are not* independent; that the thing is not settled, that there is much question about the matter, what proof do we want other than that furnished by the pretty gentlemen themselves; they have sent out COMMISSIONERS: and what are these Commissioners to do. They are not *envoys*, mind. They are not sent to *any body*. They are sent to find out whether there be somebody *to be sent to*. Precisely what was done by the Government of the United States in the early part of 1800 has been done by our precious pretty fellows NOW! In 1800 the United States sent out Commissioners. Since that, they have in one case or two sent envoys; but, because they chose to do this, does it follow that the States *are* independent? They sent an envoy, I believe, to ITURBIDE; but when his imperial majesty got tumbled down, the cre-

dentials of the envoy were changed: that was all.

The sending of *Commissioners* in place of envoys or ministers of any sort, is a clear proof that our pretty gentlemen themselves did not, only three weeks ago, look upon the States as independent. What has made them independent during the last three weeks? What proofs of their independence has been received during that period? None; and, all that has happened to produce the present measures is the completion of the conquest of Old Spain by France, a completion that might have been foreseen long and long enough ago. It is impossible to misunderstand this. It is impossible not to see that our pretty fellows abhorred the thought of South American Independence. That they were resolved to prevent it if possible; but, when they saw France in complete possession of Spain; when they saw the mighty port of Cadiz fall into their hands, then they who had passed a Foreign Enlistment Bill to prevent the South Americans from becoming free, and who had *kept that bill in force*, observe, apparently for the express purpose of preventing the English from assisting the Spaniards of Old Spain against the French; these very men;

these identical pretty fellows down at Whitehall, when they saw France in possession of Cadiz, in possession of the fleets and arsenals of Spain, then they bethought them of sending Commissioners out to South America, *to inquire whether there were any governments there that they might send envoys to!* But, finding that the French were losing no time; finding that ships were already fitting out to be sent to recolonise South America, they began to regret that they had not acted at a more early period; they began to see that Mexico and the whole of South America must be consigned to France, or that war must be declared by this country; they were, in fact, at their wit's end; and, half frightened out of their senses, and having still more hopes of the effects of bullying, they resorted to the expedients which we have seen. But, they well know that the question of independence is decided in no one of the American States. They well know that there is nothing worthy of the name of government in Mexico, which contains two-thirds of the whole of the population of the States in question. They well know that in New Granada and Venezuela, containing a half of the remainder of the population

of South America, there is no government that has the power to collect a tax or raise a soldier. We all know as well as they that the capital of Peru is in the hands of the troops of Ferdinand. Every one knows that three regiments of men would bring back Chili and place it under the royal authority. So that, if we are to allow the territory of Buenos Ayres to be in a state worthy of being called independent, there are from a million and a half to two millions of persons out of the seventeen millions in this independent State; and this independence, observe, is a *grant* from the Cortes of Spain; a grant by convention, the country being still tributary to Old Spain.

It is not denied by any body, except by the tools of corruption. It never has been denied by any body but them, that the South American States ought to be independent, and that the interests and honour of England loudly called for the acknowledgment of that independence; but, I contend, and so will every man of sense and justice contend, that the *interest and honour of England have demanded this ever since the year 1817.* The knave who writes in the *Courier*; the tool of corruption that is now putting forth these paragraphs, after noticing what the

French journals say about a Congress to settle the affairs of the American colonies : after expressing his contempt for what a Congress may say or do in such a case ; after this, the tool of corruption proceeds thus, in paragraph No. 3. " Let us not be deceived :
 " none of the Powers of the Con-
 " tinent desire the independence
 " of South America. They may
 " PRETEND that their reason for
 " not desiring it is, that it tends to
 " the spread and encouragement of
 " revolutionary principles. But
 " the real cause is that it must
 " lead to the enlarging of the
 " sphere of commercial inter-
 " course ; and therefore may and
 " must be most beneficial to Great
 " Britain."

Now, then, tool of corruption, the devil, if he never deserted you before, has certainly deserted you now. Seven hundred millions of debt, besides the current expenses of the war raised in taxes, has it cost us, to carry on a war to deliver the powers of the continent ; to make them free ; to deliver Europe ; and after all this ; and after our attending at all the Congresses of the Holy Allies, here is the villanous, base, bloody Courier newspaper, who has been crying up those allies for the last seven-and-twenty years, here is

this monstrous villain of the ECLAIR telling the people of England that these powers are *all hypocrites* ; that they pretend to what they do not believe ; and, the base and profligate and prostituted tool of corruption has the barefacedness to tell us besides, that these very powers object to the independence of South America, because and only because, that independence *must be beneficial to Great Britain!*

But, if the powers of the continent be these hypocritical and envious enemies, what shall we say for the pretty gentlemen who have had our affairs in their hands for so long a period ? Did not they, until now, know any thing of the disposition of these continental powers ? Perhaps not. At any rate, it is possible that they did not, though that possibility supposes them to be wretches almost too stupid to be suffered to live. But they knew the interests of England, did they not ? Could a thing be so manifestly beneficial to her and to her more than to any other power, and gentlemen so pretty as they are not perceive it ? What, the astonishing Wellesleys, the profound Scots and Jenkinsons, the keen-eyed Cannings and Huskissons, the awfully deep Fanes and Ryders and Melvilles ; surely,

when there was a thing which must be *most beneficial* to Great Britain, some of this delightful squad, especially when assisted as they were for so many years by the profound Castlereagh and the profounder Van; surely the surprising Wellesleys and Grenvilles and altogether, must, if the thing really were so, have perceived that South American Independence was *most beneficial to Great Britain*. Why, then, did they pass the Foreign Enlistment Bill in 1817? "Oh! *they did not wish to interfere.*" And, in paragraph No. 5, it is here said, "All Europe knows we "neither incited the Americans "to throw off their submission, "nor fanned the flame of independence; nor gave it encouragement either direct or indirect. We did not promote it: "we could not prevent it." Well, then, but why did not you promote it; why did you try to prevent it; why did you do this, if the thing itself *must be most beneficial to Great Britain*? Why did not you promote it, or, rather, why did you endeavour to prevent it, in the year 1817, when, in fact, the States *were more independent than they are now*; when you could have done it, without the smallest risk of war; without one shilling's worth of expense; by the means

of a bare word; for you had your troops then in France; you had all the powers of the continent at your nod; and Old Spain was in so feeble and wretched a state, as to be compelled to surrender the *Floridas to the American States!* You stood by and saw this, too, which you ought to have opposed with all your might, and which, in fact, you ought to have prevented. All this existed, while you had your troops in France, when you could have had the independence of South America, without sending a single soldier or single sailor to that country; but you passed a Foreign Enlistment Bill; you kept South America in a state of commotion, till France had had time to recover herself, to take possession of Spain, to be fitting out a fleet at Cadiz; and when all this has taken place, you then begin to prepare for the acknowledging of the South American States!

But, how are the pretty gentlemen to answer for their conduct only of this present year, if, what this reptile here says be true? If the independence of South America must be *most beneficial to Great Britain*, as is here asserted by their reptile, how are they to answer for their conduct of this present year? I know that they

cannot have war without blowing up the Debt and letting us have our rights. But, this aside, for a moment, it is pretty clear, that to prevent France and Spain from recolonising the American States, we must have war. Few people will doubt of this being the case : war or a recolonising of South America. At any rate, the reptile, whose eleven paragraphs we have just been reading, tells us that the Government will go to war, rather than suffer this recolonization. Now mark, there is no denying this : this infamous paper, the Courier, says that the Government will go to war, rather than suffer the recolonization of South America. If, then, this were the case, ought not the pretty gentlemen to be brought to a severe account ? Is it not an undisputed fact, that this colonization would never have been undertaken or thought of, had not the French got possession of Cadiz and the other ports of Spain ? Is not this an undisputed fact ? Why, then, did our Government not prevent the French from getting possession of Cadiz and the other ports of Spain ? Either they did not foresee that the taking of Cadiz would lead to the recolonization, or they did foresee it. If they did foresee it, were they much better

than traitors ? If they did not foresee, where are we to find words sufficient to describe their ignorance ? If war be to be resorted to, to prevent the recolonization of South America, why was not war undertaken to prevent the French from getting possession of Spain ? Pretty gentlemen, all the world knows we have ; but, who the devil ever thought them pretty enough to imagine that it was either easier or cheaper to keep the French and Spaniards shut out of South America ; to war with these two united nations at the distance of four or five thousand miles off, and that, too, under every circumstance of disadvantage to us and of advantage to them : in short, who the devil ever imagined that we had gentlemen pretty enough to believe that it was cheaper for a three-parts-broken nation to keep United France and Spain out of Spain's own provinces in America : that it was cheaper to do this, than to stop the French army in the passes of the Pyrenees, we having ready to assist us, every man in arms in Spain ?

However, pretty as the gentlemen at Whitehall are, of just the same pretty stuff are the gentlemen opposite made. As the people at Maidstone told them, when the two parties met to join in an

Address about Cobourg's marriage, they are *all tarred with the same brush*; and, therefore, though there will be matter sufficient to overthrow any ministry in the world, if it were made a proper use of, this matter will not give the pretty gentlemen at Whitehall even a little shake; that is to say, it will not enable the gentlemen opposite to give them any shake. It will shake them; because it will shake the whole of the **THING**: and here, in conclusion, let me congratulate you, as I have long congratulated myself, on the possession of Spain by the French. If the French had been driven back by the Spaniards; if there had been long delay in the war; if it had been a sort of drawn battle; if it had been what the Hobhouses and Wilsons and Burdetts and the other humbugs were wishing for: for, mind, they never wished for a driving back of the French and for another blowing up of the Bourbons; be not mad enough to think that Lord Nugent wished for a real radical revolution; be not sots enough to believe that. He and the Hobhouses, the placemen Hobhouses and the pensioned Erskines, wished for nothing that would have done us any good.

They wished to humbug those that they could humbug, and for nothing more. If, therefore, a mere prolongation of the war between the French and Spaniards; if a doubtful issue; if any thing like this had taken place, South America would have gone on, without being acknowledged, or without being proposed to be acknowledged by our pretty fellows; and these pretty fellows would not have been driven to the wall as they now are. They are now tied to the stake: they must fight for the great principle, the sovereignty of the people, or they must give up what the base Courier now calls a thing most beneficial to Great Britain.

There would be much more to say upon this subject if I had room. At present I have not. The French, I must observe, however, know well the state of distress in which the pretty gentlemen are placed. The French know that they must blow up the Debt if they go to war. The French remember the empty bullyings of last February. The French, I dare say, know them as well as I do; and if they do, my God how they will laugh at these bullying articles in the Courier. These are, in fact, the last poor attempts of conscious feebleness.

The reptile who writes these paragraphs may not be certain, that the Government cannot go to war, and by no means intends it. But those who employ the reptile, know these things well. However, we the Reformers need care very little about the matter, seeing that one of two things must take place: our Government must suffer France to possess herself of as large a portion as she pleases of South America, and Mexico will most likely be her share; or, this same Government of ours must call upon us to give it money that it may employ Englishmen to go and shed their blood in support of the principle of the *Sovereignty of the People*, for the abating of which principle it called upon us to contract a Debt of seven hundred millions of money, and to slaughter or cause to be slaughtered, two or three millions of men of various nations of the world. Will it call upon us to expend fresh millions to uphold the principles which it before made us spend hundreds of millions to put down; will it call upon us to expend millions to maintain the principle of the *Sovereignty of the People*; will it call upon us to do this while Joseph Swann is yet in gaol; and while a large part of the

people of Ireland are subject to transportation if they quit their miserable houses from sunset to sunrise?

One word more, my friends, and I conclude for the present. There are those who imagine that the United States of America would take part with us in a war for preventing the recolonization of South America. Such a thought is worthy of the pretty gentlemen of Whitehall. The United States will take no part with us. If we go to war with France or Spain, the United States will carry on their commerce; they will not suffer us to search their ships for enemy's goods; and if we insist upon doing this, they will take part in the war *against us*.

Is not the situation, then, of the Boroughmongers and their tools *worse* than it would have been if the French had not taken possession of Spain? Have not the war in Spain and the result of it given a blow to Gatton and Old Sarum? Or, will the hero of the two red lions and of the king of Bohemia actually call upon us to spend our money and shed our blood to secure the *Sovereignty of the People* in South America, while he calls upon the great House, when we pray it to put an

end to seat-selling, to "*make a stand against democratical encroachment?*"

I am, Gentlemen,

Your Friend and
Most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

JOURNAL
OF A
RIDE IN FRANCE.

It was stated in the last Register, that it was found impossible to publish in the Register even a quarter part of the Journal, received from Mr. James Cobbett. It was observed, that there were some thoughts of publishing the Journal in Numbers, and to begin doing it even before the return of the Author. This intention, or, rather, partly-formed intention, has been given up; and the Author will do as he pleases upon his return, which will be in about a month from this time. The last letter received from him left him at CHATEAUXROUX, which is precisely in the centre of France.

It was his intention to make a turn there and to go towards the west, and then to return across Brittany, the two Normandies,

Picardy and Artois. It is believed that most persons will find almost every part of his Journal to contain something of interest. The following extract of a letter, dated from COSNE, and dated on the 29th October, will, it is confidently believed, be found to be peculiarly interesting. It is well worthy of the attention of all those in this country, who have any thing to do with the making or with the executing of the laws; and it may serve as an answer to all those brutal Pittites, who ask us, "*what the French have gained by their revolution.*"

"Amongst many circumstances
"to induce me to stay longer at
"the CHATEAU DE BEAUVOIR,
"was the offer of a dog and gun,
"which I should have gladly accepted of, if I had not, by the
"lateness of the season, been
"hurried to get on. This is a
"fine sporting country. There
"is plenty of game; and so there
"appears to be generally in
"France; for I have seen partridges and hares, and people
"in pursuit of them, in almost
"every neighbourhood that I have
"passed through. They have,
"here, the English hare, partridge, quail, woodcock, snipe,
"and rabbit; and, in some places,
"the pheasant. In addition to

" these, there is a bird, which
 " they call the *red-legged par-*
 " *tridge*; a very beautiful bird,
 " rather larger than our partridge,
 " and in great abundance. I went
 " a *coursing* two or three times at
 " *Briare*; and it appeared to
 " me that the *French hares* were
 " quite a match for the *English*
 " *greyhounds* that ran after them,
 " —The 'GAME LAWS' in
 " France are exceedingly simple
 " in their provisions. The law
 " that affects sportsmen, is more
 " properly a *Military Law* than
 " a *Game Law*. You may *chace*,
 " and *kill*, any game that you
 " please, without the laws having
 " any thing to do with you. But,
 " if you wish to *carry a gun*, you
 " must have a *certificate* to autho-
 " rize you to do so. *Any one is*
 " *qualified to buy this certificate*;
 " and the cost of the certificate is
 " *fifteen francs*, which is about
 " *twelve shillings and sixpence*
 " *sterling*. The certificate is called
 " a *Porte-d'Arme*; that is to say,
 " a permission to carry *fire arms*.
 " Having this, you may kill what-
 " ever game you please; but it
 " does not give you a right to go
 " on the land of *another person*
 " *without having his leave to do*
 " *so*, and you are liable, if you
 " have not such leave, to an
 " action for *trespass*. The *soldiers*

" *of the King* have a right to shoot
 " game, *without paying any thing*.
 " Game may be bought and sold
 " by any body, and is, at all times
 " of the year. So, it would ap-
 " pear, that the '*Game Laws*' of
 " France have more an eye to the
 " *guns* of sportsmen, than they
 " have to the preservation of those
 " animals that sportsmen love to
 " destroy.—The labourers catch
 " the game in *springes*, without
 " being sent to *gaol* or *Botany*
 " *Bay* for so doing; there is,
 " however, little to induce them
 " to '*poaching*,' as we call it in
 " England. A French labourer
 " would be a fool if he could find
 " any delight in prowling about
 " in a coppice, at a time when he
 " might be sleeping at home in
 " such a house as is the habita-
 " tion of a labourer at BRIARE.
 " There are cottages, separate
 " from the farm-houses, all over
 " the estate of BEAUVOIR. A
 " labourer, employed *by the year*,
 " has one of these cottages for his
 " family to live in, with from
 " twelve to *fifteen acres of land*,
 " *fire-wood*, and *two cows* allowed
 " him; a little piece of *vineyard*,
 " and *apples* and *pears*, to make
 " wine, cider, and perry, for his
 " drink. For this little estate he
 " pays 150 francs (6l. 5s.) a year.
 " And he earns, in his labour,

" from 15 to 30 *sous* a day (7½d. |
 " to 15d.), according to the sea-
 " son of the year; which would
 " be leaving him, upon an aver-
 " age, after he has paid the 150
 " *francs*, more than as much as
 " that sum, in *clear money*. The
 " labourers who live under these
 " circumstances cannot, generally
 " speaking, be otherwise than
 " happy. They have every thing
 " that they can want; every
 " thing, in fact, that a labourer
 " ought to have. If they like to
 " have beer to drink, they have
 " land on which to grow the ma-
 " terials to make it; and they
 " may grow the *hops* and make
 " the *malt*, without fearing the
 " interference of an *Exciseman*.
 " They have not a farthing of
 " *taxes* to pay, nor money in any
 " other shape, excepting that
 " which they pay to their *land-*
 " *lord*, and who gives them a
 " sufficient price for their labour
 " to enable them to preserve com-
 " fort and happiness for them-
 " selves, and to pay him a rent
 " for the advantages which he
 " gives them. There is no need
 " of '*pot-houses*' here: and, con-
 " sequently, there are no such
 " things in France. The la-
 " bourer can sit at home in the
 " evening, because in his cottage
 " there is enough of *plenty* to give

" *content*; and, for the same ea-
 " son, he can go to bed, without
 " being afraid of awaking in
 " misery. The state of the French
 " labourer forms, in short, a per-
 " fect contrast with that of the
 " poor ragged creature of the
 " same class in *England*, who,
 " after a hard day's work, slinks
 " into the '*pot-house*,' to seek, in
 " its scene of drunkenness and
 " degradation, a refuge from the
 " cheerlessness of his own abode.
 " The *dress* of the labourers in
 " France, is good, as far as I have
 " seen. They wear a smock-
 " frock and trowsers, of a *blue*
 " colour, like the dress of most of
 " the labourers in *SUSSEX*. The
 " garments of the *Sussex-men*
 " however, are very frequently in
 " a state of *raggedness*, which is
 " seldom the case with those of
 " the *French*. This dress is made,
 " not, as I before said, of *cotton*,
 " but of *stout linen*. When at
 " work, the men, very frequently
 " wear some sort of *cap* upon
 " their heads. In this part of the
 " country, I see, they wear a *hat*,
 " which has a very wide brim to
 " it, a brim about eight or ten
 " inches wide, that serves as a
 " shelter to the shoulders as well
 " as a covering to the head.
 " Sometimes this large brim is
 " turned up, in such a way as to

"form a complete *cocked-hat*, like that which is worn by the officers in our army."

Has France gained nothing, then, by her revolution? *Thousands of persons used to be sent to the galleys every year on account of the game.* Has she gained nothing, then, by her revolution? Our parsons say that she has not. Would they like to let the people of England gain as much as the French have gained? In this account of the game laws of France, we have, in fact, an account of the happiness of a country, without tithes, without a domineering priesthood, and without cruel and bloody laws to preserve all the wild animals, for the exclusive use of a haughty aristocracy. What a *contrast* does the state of the French countryman form with that of our poor creatures! However, let us hope that Frenchmen are not always to see us in this degraded state. What are we to think of the base London press, when we look at this state of the French labourer; when we read this account of the game and of the game laws in France, and when we remember Gaffer Gooch's saying, that there were **ONLY FORTY POACHERS** at one time in one English gaol; when we reflect, that one

third part of all the prisoners in any one gaol in England at any given time, are in for killing or attempting to kill hares, pheasants, or partridges. When we think of these things; when we think of the hanging of the two poor fellows at Winchester, SMITH and TURNER, on account of having resisted and wounded in one case, and killed in the other case, Lord PALMERSTON'S and ASHETON SMITH'S game-keepers, *by whom they had been seized*: when we think of these things; when we think of all the miseries, and all the horrors, proceeding from this terrible Game Code, and when we think at the same time of the happy and secure state of the people of France, how are we to find words to express our indignation of those wretches of the London press, who would make us believe that we are free men, while the people of France are slaves; and that we ought to patiently submit to our rulers, while the people of France ought to rise in rebellion against theirs?

These wretches of the London press may curse till they are hoarse. These hirelings of the Jews and Jobbers may swear as long as they please, that the parishioners of Parson MORRITT, who sent forth armed men

to collect his tithes at Skibbereen, and whose agents bought in five of the seized sheep for five shillings; these wretches, hired by the Jews and Jobbers of London, may swear as long as they please that Frenchmen ought to rebel because they are not crammed into prison for looking at a hare; but Frenchmen will not rebel; they will leave us to the enjoyment of the blessings that Boroughmongers give us, and if we like Parson MORRITT and his brethren, they will leave us to the blessings bestowed by Parson MORRITT and his brethren: they will enjoy quietly the fruit of their revolution, the fruit of their valour and perseverance; and leave us *loyal* souls to enjoy the *tread-mill*, that famous specimen of the "envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world."

[This wretched crew of *hum-buggers* ought not to be suffered to proceed with their frauds. As to what they may do *here*, that, cannot be wholly prevented. But, as I have completely exposed them throughout North America, I am resolved to expose *this whole fraud*; all this fraudulent **THING**, to the *people of France*. These cheats shall not cheat the world as they have done. Just *one sheet of paper*, containing a sum-

mary of a small part of *what the Boroughmongers do to us*, and entitled, *Proofs of English Freedom*, translated into French, and well circulated in France, would do a great deal of good. I will think about the means of doing this; for, I make no compromise with the *Borough-villains*. We owe all our sufferings *to them*. It is they who have spawned the Jews and Jobbers: it is they who have put the old sacks over the shoulders of the labourer and have wrapped hay-bands round his legs.

TURNPIKE TOLLS.

To the Editor of the Hampshire Chronicle.

Kensington, 13 November, 1823.

SIR,

I PERCEIVE, from one of your recent papers, that this matter, relating to the tolls on *one-horse carts*, is not yet clearly understood, in your part of the country at least. That article in your paper, to which I allude, says something about *market carts*, and other carts for *light goods* or *passengers*. Sir, ALL one-horse carts are to be *exempted from the additional toll*. Let me "lay down the law" once more, and plainly, if I can.

In 1822, an Act was passed, laying an *additional toll* on one-horse carts with *narrow wheels*. This additional toll was *one-half* of the old

toll : so that, a toll that was 3*d.* became 4½*d.* This Act went into force in *January last* ; and the tolls were then raised accordingly. But, mind, *tax carts, market carts, and carts for light goods and passengers, were EXCEPTED.* These were not to be charged any additional toll ; and they *were not* ; but the additional toll was laid on all *other carts* ; and the toll-collectors, so interpreted the law, as to find but very *few exemptions* ; for they made the poor *ass-cart* men pay the additional toll.

On the 19th of July, 1823, another Act was passed, and this new Act, in order to do away this exaction of the toll-collectors, and to leave no room for dispute, made (in clause 19) the EXEMPTION to extend, *immediately, to ALL one-horse carts.* So that, *from that day, all additional toll on one-horse carts ceased.* And, whoever has taken an additional toll on ANY one-horse cart, since 19th July last, is liable to a penalty of *five pounds.*

This, Sir, is the law ; and this law has been violated in *all parts* of the country, and, in many parts, is violated still. It has been pretended, that the toll-collectors *did not know of the existence of the act of 1823.* Surely ! They *knew, in a moment, of the existence of the act of 1822 !* Knew of the act *raising* tolls ; but not of the act *lowering* tolls ! And pray, Sir, how many scores of poor carters and of farmers almost as poor

have had to pay a *penalty* for *not knowing* (and *really not knowing*), that their names must be put on *the side*, instead of the *front*, of their carts and wagons ! And, pray mark the wide difference in the cases : as to the *name*, it did *nobody any harm* : the changing of its place was a mere whim of some whimsical man. But, as to the *toll*, it was *taking money away from people unlawfully*, and, indeed, almost by *violence.* It was *extortion*, and almost *robbery* ; and that, too, of a most industrious and meritorious class of men.

The time limited for making complaints is *three months* ; so that, if you have been made to pay the additional toll on a one-horse cart, within *three months*, you may go to a magistrate, *name the man* you paid it to, and the *time*, or *about the time*, and get a *summons* for the man. The justice may *mitigate* the penalty ; but no justice will venture to reduce it *very low*, seeing that the toll-collectors have been unjustly *pocketing money.*

I am, Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The above Letter ought to be inserted in every *country paper* in the kingdom ; and, indeed, in every paper.—If, in any part of the country, the extortion be still going on ; and, if any man with a *name*, and whom *I know*, will write to me, *post paid*, at 183, Fleet-street, *I will take measures for punishing the offenders.* I hear that the extortion is still going on in some parts of Kent.—In justice to my neighbours I insert the following, which I take from

the London DAILY papers of the 11th instant.

"TURNPIKE EXACTIONS.—At a Meeting of several Owners of one-horse carts, of the Kensington, Chelsea, Fulham, and Hammersmith District, held at the Grapes Tavern, Kensington, on Thursday, the 6th day of November,

Mr. COTTERELL in the Chair;

it was Resolved, That a Subscription be entered into for the purchase of a Piece of Plate, to be presented to Mr. Cobbett, for his disinterested exertions in exposing, defeating, and putting a stop to the renters of Tolls in this and other districts, from exacting a higher Toll than the Law directs to be paid.

"Subscriptions will be received by the Chairman, High-street, and Mr. Haines, Grapes Tavern, Kensington; Mr. W. Pater, Mr. Wm. Simmonds, Swan, and Mr. James Saunders, Hammersmith; Mrs. South, Compasses, Fulham; Mr. Edwards, Somerset Arms; Little Chelsea; Dickson and Anderson, Covent Garden; and Mr. Wamsley, Beaumont Arms, Shepherd's Bush, till MONDAY, the 24th instant, when a Meeting of the Subscribers will be held at Seven o'clock in the Evening, at the Grapes Tavern, Kensington, to ascertain the amount of Subscriptions, and to determine on the Piece of Plate to be purchased."

The Jews had to pay thirty-six pounds in *penalties*. I made seven complaints; James Palmer two, Thomas Cox two, William Grove two, John Wilson one, William Cox one, William Calcott one, John Kill one, Thomas King one. I *advised* these men to complain. They went with me. I employed the Solicitor, and he advanced money for all the expenses. When the decision had

taken place I retained, by consent of the parties, four shillings on each conviction for the Solicitor, who had had a great deal of trouble, and the men, above-named, were paid by me, sixteen shillings on each conviction. The seven pounds, which came to me, I shall give to the *wife and children* of poor JOSEPH SWANN; or, part to them and part to him. The winter, now coming, is the FIFTH winter that this poor man has passed in the *gaol*, to which he was sent by the *Magistrates of Cheshire*! For they had him in *gaol about three months before they sentenced him* to be in *gaol for four years and a half longer*! A wife and four small children were left to be paupers or to starve. Good God! And this is *humane* England, is it! I have once before assisted this poor woman a little. And, as I give these *seven pounds*, may I not hope, that there will be *somebody* found to make the seven *twice seven*? I shall *go*, or get *some one to go*, to see SWANN and his family, on, or before, the *last day of this month*. This man and his family *must* be taken care of, or, the very name of *Englishman* ought to be held in detestation. I shall, in the Register, give an account of any sums that I may receive on this account. *Much* is not wanted; but, about *seven pounds* will be wanted for the winter that is just at hand. In the meanwhile, Mrs. SWANN will oblige me by writing to me, (at No. 183, Fleet Street, *postage paid*), to let me know *precisely where she is to be found*, that I, or the gentleman that goes, may not lose my or his time. I, or some one, will be with her, *on the 29th or*

30th of this month.—I will, towards the seven pounds which I wish to get, receive any sum, even so low as a shilling. A little book will be kept at No. 183, Fleet Street, for the purpose of entering names and sums. When I get the seven pounds, I shall stop. That will suffice for this winter; and that, I trust, I shall soon have. At any rate, I know what is my duty, and I will do it. My Solicitor, understanding what use I meant to apply the seven penalties to, declined receiving any thing on account of them; so that, in fact, he has been good enough to subscribe 17. 8s. on this occasion.

MECHANIC'S INSTITUTION.

THE Report of the proceedings at the Crown and Anchor, public house, in the Strand, on Tuesday the 11th inst. has been published in all the newspapers. The following is what the report in the Morning Chronicle has contained, with regard to the little part that I took in the business.

“MR. COBBETT having been called for, came forward amidst loud applause. Order having been restored, he observed that it was not originally his intention to trouble them with a single word. He concurred with those who thought it the duty of every man to contribute as much as in his power to the support of the Institution; with that view he had given his five pounds to the Chairman, requesting him to inform the meeting that he was not actuated by any wish to become a founder or member of the Institution, and he would, in a few words, tell them his reason

for not wishing to be either the one or the other. He had all his life made it his boast and glory that he belonged to the working part of the people. [Cheers.] He never affected to be what he was not—he never turned his back upon that class out of which he came. [Applause.] He was of opinion that one Resolution at least of the Society at New York was a wise one—namely, that none but mechanics should be allowed to become members of it. It became those who were not mechanics to subscribe according to their ability, but they had nothing, and ought to have nothing, to do with the management of the Institution. [Applause.] And here he agreed with Mr. Brougham, who stated he thought the thing should be managed by the mechanics themselves. If they allowed other management to interfere, men would soon be found who would put the mechanics on one side, and make use of them only as tools. [Applause.] He meant to impute blame no where, least of all to Mr. Brougham, who agreed fully with him upon this point. He recollected the establishment of a literary institution, a kind of literary fund, at the head of which were Mr. D. Williams, a dissenting minister, and Mr. T. Morrice. This fund was intended for the relief of decayed authors, who had written in support of truth and justice, or their wives and families—well, what happened? The society flourished, it increased—but it soon got into other hands—the consequence of which was, that for years not a farthing had been paid out of it, except to those who had written in support of corruption and slavery.”

I gave my five pounds as a mark of my regard for and my attachment to the working classes of the community, and also as a mark of my approbation of any thing which seemed to assert that

these classes were equal, in point of intellect, to those who have had the insolence to call them the "*Lower Orders*." But, I was not without my fears, nor am I now without my fears, that this institution may be turned to purposes, *extremely injurious to the mechanics themselves*. I cannot but know what sort of people are likely to get amongst them. I know that there are *Rump Committees*, and I heard the name of "*JOHN CAN HOBHOUSE Esquire*," who gave *ten pounds* to the mechanics, while his father is receiving *twelve hundred pounds a year* as a *Commissioner about the Nabob of Arcot's debts*, and who has received out of the public money about *five and twenty thousand pounds since I can remember*; and that, too, in part, out of the sweat of these very mechanics. "*When father and son take different sides, lands and tenements commit no treason*." Thus BURDETT is thanked at the late dinner of "*Patriots*" for his *hostility to military outrage*; while his son, in a high court regiment of whiskerandoes, is *pushing on fast in time of peace towards the rank of General*! So much for Rump Committees and "*free and independent Electors of Westminster*."

Mechanics, I most heartily wish you well; but I also most heartily wish you not to be *hambugged*, which you most certainly will be, if you suffer any body but REAL MECHANICS to have any thing to do in managing the concern. You will mean well; but, many a cunning scoundrel will get *place or pension* as the price of you, whom he will sell just as unconcernedly as a grazer sells his

sheep at Smithfield. Scotch Fee-loosers are, sometimes, *very clever men*; but, if you suffer yourselves to be put into their *crucibles*, you will make but a poor figure when you come out. An "*Institution*" to get the "*Combination Law*" repealed would, I fancy, be the most advantageous that you could, at this time, establish. The "*expansion of the mind*" is very well; but, really, the thing which presses most, at this time, is, the getting of something to *expand the body* a little more: a little more *bread, bacon, and beer*; and, when these are secured, a little "*expansion of the mind*" may do *very weele*.

AMERICAN APPLE TREES.

I SHALL publish a list of the sorts, with the prices, in the next Register. In the meanwhile, some of the apples, and especially an apple, which grew on a graft that came from America last spring, may be seen at Fleet-street—I cannot state more particulars at present, for want of room.—The grafts that were first put on, in my garden, were put on in May, 1821; that is, *thirty months ago*; and, I have now, apples of *five sorts* from them; and, the *finest collection of apples that I ever saw in England*. Two of my *Fall-pippins*, weighing *nine ounces each*, have been sent to the HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY'S Rooms, in Regent-street, where, as I understand, they may be seen after Tuesday next. In my

YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA, in the *Journal* part, there are these words: "October 7.—The "wind is knocking down the fall-
"pippins for us. One picked up "to-day, weighed $12\frac{1}{4}$ ounces, "avoirdupois. The *average* weight "is *nine* ounces, or, perhaps, *ten* "ounces."—Now, I have five fall-pippins this year from a graft put on in 1821. The weight of three of them is *nine ounces each*: the weight of one of the other two, *nine ounces and a half*; and the weight of the fifth, *eight* ounces. — Besides these, there is *one*, which grew on the graft brought from America this year, cut off the tree in *December*, and put on here on the *27th of April*. This apple weighs rather more than *seven ounces*. — Every one knows how bad this year has been for the *ripening* of apples; and yet my apples (*and not against a wall*), appear to be perfectly well ripened.—Mind, it is only *thirty months* since I put on my first graft. My *wood* shews for beautiful bloom. I have three *Newtown Pippins*. They are not full size. They weigh, however, *seven ounces each*, and the whole of the wood that they grew on, I mean *the whole from the place where the grafting took place*, does not, I am sure, and did not with the leaves on, weigh *half an ounce*. All these facts show, that there is, in these American grafts, a great aptness to produce *bearing wood*.—The leaves *hang on late* upon my trees. The last week in this month will be time enough to take them up.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending 1st November.

Per Quarter.	s.	d.
Wheat	50	0
Rye	28	1
Barley	27	4
Oats	21	0
Beans	32	6
Peas	34	2

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, 1st November.

Qrs.	£.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Wheat.. 8,200 for 21,399	14	9	Average, 52	2	
Barley.. 3,486....	5,220	5	1.....	29	11
Oats... 8,197....	10,043	13	11.....	24	6
Rye..... 91 ..	144	16	10.....	31	10
Beans .. 1,169....	2,151	16	0.....	36	9
Peas.... 1,263....	2,292	14	3.....	36	3

Quarters of English Grain, &c. arrived Coastwise, from Nov. 3 to Nov. 8, inclusive.

Wheat.. 4,952	Pease.... 1,354
Barley... 3,147	Tares..... 63
Malt 1,896	Linseed.... —
Oats.... 5,523	Rape 175
Rye 42	Brank..... —
Beans... 1,205	Mustard... 146

Various Seeds, 285; and Hemp, 15 qrs.—lour 6,687 sacks.

From Ireland.—Oats 345 qrs.

Foreign.—Wheat 500 qrs.

Friday, Nov. 7.—The arrivals of all kinds of Grain are only moderate for this season of the year. Wheat fully supports the prices of last Monday. Barley for our Malsters' use finds sale freely, and grinding samples also maintain last quotations. Beans and Peas are without alteration. Good Oats meet a ready sale at the same rates as last quoted, but other kinds go off slowly.

Monday, Nov. 10.—The arrivals of all sorts of Corn last week were only moderate, and the quantities fresh up this morning are again middling from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, with but few vessels with Oats from the North. There was a brisk demand for the best parcels of Wheat this morning, and superfine descriptions obtained rather higher prices than this day se'nnight; other qualities also sell more freely than of late, but not at better prices.

Barley for malting fully supports the terms of last Monday, but other qualities go off heavily. Beans of dry quality obtain 1s. per quarter advance on last quotations. Boiling Pease are unaltered. Grey Pease being scarce are again 1s. per quarter dearer. There was a free demand for good Oats, which sold on rather better terms than this day se'nnight, but other qualities remain as stated last week. Flour is unaltered.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

WHEAT.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Uxbridge, per load	10l.	0s.	16l.	10s.
Aylesbury... ditto	10l.	0s.	12l.	0s.
Newbury	41	0	—	66 0
Reading	40	0	—	58 0
Henley	38	0	—	63 0
Banbury	44	0	—	54 0
Devizes	36	0	—	65 0
Warminster	40	0	—	64 0
Sherborne	0	0	—	0 0
Dorchester, per load ...	10l.	0s.	15l.	10s.
Exeter, per bushel	7	6	—	8 3
Lewes	48	0	—	62 0
Guildford, per load	12l.	0s.	17l.	0s.
Winchester, ditto	0	0	—	0 0
Basingstoke	46	0	—	58 0
Chelmsford, per load ..	9l.	0s.	14l.	10s.
Yarmouth	44	0	—	48 0
Hungerford	44	0	—	63 0
Lynn	36	0	—	52 0
Horncastle	36	0	—	46 0
Stamford	36	0	—	52 0
Northampton	43	0	—	50 0
Truro, 24 galls. to a bush.	19	9	—	0 0
Swansea, per bushel....	7	6	—	0 0
Nottingham	47	0	—	0 0
Derby, 34 quarts to bush.	48	0	—	57 0
Newcastle	38	0	—	57 0
Dalkeith, per boll *	18	6	—	27 0
Haddington, ditto*	20	0	—	32 0

* The Scotch boll is 3 per cent more than 4 bushels.

Liverpool, Nov. 4. — But little business has been done here in the Corn trade since Tuesday last, and during the week past Old Wheat and Oats scarcely met sales on equal terms of this day se'nnight, and New Irish Oats and Wheat were each sold below the prices of that day. The market of this day opened, from the numerous enquiries of both town and country dealers, with a lively aspect, and a few parcels of fine English and Irish Wheats were taken off at the prices of last Tuesday. In other articles of the trade there was so

little alteration in value, as to leave the last quotations unchanged.

Imported into Liverpool from the 28th October to the 3d November 1823, inclusive:—Wheat, 6,238; Oats, 6,316; Barley, 684; Malt, 1,827; Beans, 415; and Peas, 177 quarters. Oatmeal, 316 packs of 240 lbs. Flour, 1,966 sacks and 610 barrels.

Norwich, Nov. 8.—Our market was pretty fully attended by Growers to-day, in expectation of better prices for all sorts of Grain. This, however, was not realized, at least, to the extent expected—Wheat being from 40s. to 50s. for general runs, and for the most part very damp and cold, so as to render the kiln necessary; a few picked samples as high as 54s., but they were rare. Barley found ready sale at 24s. to 30s. per quarter. Other sorts in proportion.

Bristol, Nov. 8.—The supply of Corn, &c. still continues moderate to this place, and sales are effected nearly as follow:—Best Wheat from 7s. 6d. to 7s. 9d.; inferior ditto, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 3d.; Barley, 2s. 6d. to 3s. 9d.; Beans, 3s. 6d. to 5s. 3d.; Oats, 2s. to 3s.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 6s. 2d. per bushel. Flour, Seconds, 28s. to 46s. per bag.

Birmingham, Nov. 7.—Our Wheat trade was heavy yesterday, at 5s. to 6s. 8d. per 60 lbs. for Old, and 6s. to 6s. 4d. for New. Barley sold freely at 28s. to 32s. per quarter. Malt in pretty good request, at 6s. 6d. to 7s. per bushel. Oats steady, at 28s. to 30s. for Old, and 22s. to 25s. for New. Beans much sought after, at 15s. 6d. to 16s. per ten score for Old, and 14s. 6d. to 15s. for New. Peas, from 5s. to 6s. per bushel, in fair demand. Old Fine Flour, 43s. to 45s. per sack, and Old Seconds, 40s. to 42s.; New Fine, 40s. to 42s., and New Seconds, 36s. to 37s.; mixed Flour, 39s. to 40s. There was no

shortness of supply in any thing but Beans: Barley was much more plentiful than it has of late been, and was not worth so much money at the close of the market, nor is it expected that it will support the present quotations.

Ipswich, Nov. 8.—We had to-day a large supply of Barleys, the best of which sold about 6d. to 1s. per quarter below last week's prices, and the middling and ordinary qualities 1s. to 2s. per quarter; only a moderate supply of Wheat, prices the same as last week; but very few Peas, and no Beans either New or Old.

Wisbech, Nov. 8.—Nothing but the best dry samples of Wheat supported last week's prices: inferior sorts dull in sale, and a trifle lower; 44s. to 48s. was given for best sorts. Oats and Beans without alteration. Mustard-seed the same.

Boston, Nov. 5.—We still continue to have a good supply of samples of Grain, without any variation, excepting very superior, which is very slow in demand, and sold as follows:—Wheat, 40s. to 48s.; Oats, 16s. to 22s.; Barley, 23s. to 30s.; and Beans, 32s. to 36s. per quarter.

Wakefield, Nov. 7.—The supply of Grain to this day's market is slender, except Oats and Shelling, which is abundant and more than equal to the demand. The finest samples of Wheat, both new and old, sell readily at last week's prices; middling and inferior descriptions are dull and difficult of sale.—Barley and Beans are each 1s. higher.—Oats and Shelling are dull, and a shade lower.—Malt in good demand, at 1s. per load advance.—No alteration in Flour, Peas, or Rape-seed.

Malton, Nov. 8.—Our market for all sorts of Grain continues nearly at the same price as for some weeks past.—Old Wheat,

58s. to 60s.; New ditto, 48s. to 54s. per quarter, five stone per bushel. Barley, 11d. to 12d. per stone; Oats, 9½d. to 11d. per stone.

City, 12 November 1823.

BACON.

The belief of a scarcity of *Hogs* in Ireland is now pretty firmly established. We shall not be surprised, however, to find, in another month or six weeks, that there is plenty of *Irish Bacon* in London. From present appearances prices are likely to go higher.—On board, 38s. to 40s.; Landed, 46s. to 48s.

BUTTER.

Taking *Moore's Almanac* for his guide, a person might write a table of prices for this trade for a twelve-month to come. Allowing a latitude of a month, as the Almanac-maker does, you would be almost sure to be right—Some years ago every kind of *Irish Butter* was, at this time of the year, bought by name, without the necessity of the buyer's inspecting it. Now, no one who can pay for what he buys, will purchase without previously inspecting; and at this time there are hundreds of tons of *Butter* in this market, which will lose the importers four or five per cent. on account of its staleness, arising from its having been imported before it was wanted. So much of the *Irish* being stale, and an advance having taken place in the foreign markets, together with the prospect of a check to the importation of foreign *Butter*, have caused a demand for every thing that is fine, and a consequent advance of price.—On board: Carlow, 80s. to 83s.—Waterford, 74s. to 75s.—Dublin, 75s. to 76s.—Belfast, 78s. to 80s.—Limerick, or Cork, 72s.—Landed: Carlow, 82s. to 84s.—Belfast, 80s. to 82s.—Waterford, 75s. to 77s.—Dublin, 76s. to 78s.—Cork, or Limerick, 74s. to 75s.—Dutch, 94s. to 96s.—Holstein, 80s. to 86s.—Embsen, 68s. to 72s.

CHEESE.

Fine Old Cheshire, 74s. to 80s.; Middling, 60s. to 66s.; New, 56s. to 63s.—Double Gloucester, 56s. to 64s.; Single, 46s. to 58s.—The factors have bought too high, generally, to admit of any profit: and there are always undersellers in this article, in London.

SMITHFIELD, Monday, Nov. 10.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	8	to	3 8
Mutton	3	4	—	3 10
Veal	4	0	—	5 0
Pork	4	0	—	4 8

Beasts ...	3,305	Sheep ...	18,090
Calves	200	Pigs	220

NEWGATE (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	2	0	to	2 8
Mutton	2	0	—	3 0
Veal	3	0	—	4 4
Pork	3	0	—	5 0

LEADENHALL (same day).

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	1	10	to	3 0
Mutton	2	8	—	3 2
Veal	3	8	—	5 0
Pork	2	8	—	4 8

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS.—per Ton.

Ware	£ 2	5	to	£ 3	15
Middlings	1	15	—	2	0
Chats	1	10	—	0	0
Common Red ..	0	0	—	0	0
Onions ..	0s.	0d.	—	0s.	0d. per bush.

BOROUGH.—per Ton.

Ware	£ 2	5	to	£ 3	10
Middlings	1	10	—	2	0
Chats	1	10	—	0	0
Common Red ..	0	0	—	0	0
Onions ..	0s.	0d.	—	0s.	0d. per bush.

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay .. 80s. to 105s.
Straw...34s. to 40s.
Clover 100s. to 126s.

St. James's.—Hay....65s. to 108s.
Straw...36s. to 45s.
Clover...95s. to 120s.

Whitechapel.—Hay....80s. to 110s.
Straw...36s. to 44s.
Clover...90s. to 135s.

Maidstone, Nov. 6.—Our Hop Trade continues quite as bad as last week; there are so few sales made, that we cannot say much about prices, but they are evidently getting lower every day.

Worcester, Nov. 1.—163 pockets of Old Hops were this day weighed in our Market. There is still a fair demand for good Hops of 1819, at 80s. to 95s., and 1821 at about

112s. The duty of the kingdom is stated at 23,000*l.* The duty of this plantation is not expected to reach 3*l.*

Cotton Market:

Friday, Nov. 7.—This is the prompt day at the India House, which has lately attracted so much attention, and which has occasioned so many Cottons to be thrown upon the market; the sales of East-India descriptions this week are between 3,000 and 4,000 bags; nearly the whole has been disposed of at $\frac{1}{4}$ d. discount, a few parcels at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. discount on the India House sale prices.

COAL MARKET, Nov. 6.

Ships at Market. Ships sold. Price.

34½ Newcastle..28½..40s. 0d. to 46s. 9d.

34½ Sunderland..28½..40s. 0d.—47s. 9d.